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वर्ष-१० | अंधरा ठाढ़ी , दरभङ्गा | अङ्क-१

मित्र - वाणी

कलकत्ता

वाचस्पति-श्रद्धा

वाचस्पति समिति, ग्रा०—पो०—अन्धरा ठाढ़ी (दरभंगा)

१८८५ शकान्द

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प्रधान सम्पादक

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न्याय वेदान्त व्याकरणाचार्य

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मन्त्री

वाचस्पति समिति

घा० पो०—अम्बरा-ठाढ़ी

जिला—दरभंगा

बिहार

प्राप्ति स्थान

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वाचस्पति समिति

ब्रह्मस्थान

अम्बरा-ठाढ़ी

जिला—दरभंगा, बिहार

भारत

तथा

कमला पुस्तक सदन

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		(संस्कृत)	
२	वाचस्पतिहस्ता स्वीकृत्यायवार्तिक- तात्पर्यटीका प्रशस्तिः	प्राचीन-हस्त-लेखतः	(ट)
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१५	वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्य मेघिसत्वम्	न्या० व्या० भा० पं० श्री रविनाथ ठाकुर: नेपाल - राजकीय - संस्कृत - महाविद्यालय, मटिहानी (जनकपुर)	१२१
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संख्या	लेखों के शीर्षक	लेखकों के नाम	पृष्ठांक
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(मैथिली)

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Studies on Vacaspati Misra (I)

Prof. Anantlal Thakur Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute Darbhanga.

इस लेख में विद्वान् लेखक ने यह स्पष्ट किया है कि 'सर्वतन्त्र-स्वतन्त्र' पद केवल वाचस्पति मिश्र में ही सार्थक है। इनकी कृतियों के विषय परिचय के साथ इनके ग्रन्थों के विषय में जो विदेशीय तथा स्वदेशीय विद्वानों ने साक्षात् वा परम्परया लिखा है उसका संक्षिप्त विवरण भी दिया गया है।

Vacaspati Misra's is a hallowed name in the domain of Indian thought. He is known as *Sarvatantrasvatantra*—an independent writer on all the systems of philosophy and the title is equally appropriate in no other case. The orthodox thought came to a crisis due to the onslaughts of intellectual giants like Dharmakirti and Santaraksita of the Buddhist school. It was Vacaspati who through his contributions saved the systems. Nay, he enriched them by opening up new vistas and read new meanings in the old treatises which were unknown to his predecessors. A gifted man, he could easily write original works of his own. But he remained satisfied in writing commentaries which immortalised the old systems.

Thus his (1) *Nyayakanika* is a commentary on Mandana Misra's *Vidhiviveka*. The next work (2) the *Tattvasamiksa* on vedanta has unfortu-

nately not come to light. (3) The *Tattvabindu* elucidates some of the Bhatta school. (4) The views of the *Nyayavartika tatparyatika*, as the name indicates, is a sub-commentary on the *Nyayavartika* of Uddyotakara. (5) The *Nyaya-sucinibandha* is a critical edition of the Gotamasutra really forming an appendix to No. 4, (6) The *Sankhhyatattva-kaumudi* is a commentary on the Karikas of Isvarakrsna (7) The *Tattvavasisaradi* is a sub-commentary on the *Vyasabhasya* on the Yogasutras of Patanjali. (8) The *Bhamati* elucidates the Sankarabhasya on the *Brahmasutras*. The above shows that all his labours were to strengthen the ancient edifices.

Posterity showed proper respects to him by writing glosses on his works. The *Bhamati* was the source of different sub-school of vedanta. The *Nyayavartikatatparyatika* was commented

upon by no less a great figure than Udayanacarya. The *Vivaranapancika* of Aniruddha, the *Pancaprasthananayayattippanaka* of Srikantha and the *Nyayalamkara* of Abhayatilakasuri give Vacaspati the proper place in their respective works. It is interesting to note that both Srikantha and Abhayatilaka belonged to the Jaina community which shows that the Nyaya views of Vacaspati were respected by the non-orthodox people also.

The relation of Vacaspati with the Buddhists was of scholarly antagonism. He refuted the views of the Buddhists, and specially of Dharmakirti, in all his major works. The Buddhists took great pains to re-establish their position after criticising the *Nyayavartikatatparyatika* and the *Nyayakanika*. They considered these two as the best works of Vacaspati and did not touch even the *Bhamati*, the contribution of his mature age. It may be noted that Jnanasrimitra of Vikramasita regarded Vacaspati as one of the strongest pillars of the altar of orthodox philosophy.

To the logicians of Bengal and Mithila Vacaspati is known either as the 'Tatparyacarya' or as the 'Tikakara'. The former title is according

to his Nyaya work, the *Tatparyatika*. And it is well known that he was predominantly a Naiyayika. The latter title is due to the fact that he was the only successful writer of commentaries which embraced all the branches of orthodox philosophy. The *Tatparyatika*, as we have seen elsewhere, occupied the prominent position among the Nyaya works and eclipsed many important treatises of the system. We hear of the works of logician like Aviddhakarna, Samkara, Priticandra, Adhyayana, Trilocana, Visvarupa, Satananda, Sanatani and others. But all of them went into oblivion due to the overwhelming influence of the *Tatparyatika*. The all-embracing character of this work seems to have made them redundant. Aniruddha has pointed out that Vacaspati follows the track beaten by his illustrious guru, Trilocana. Vacaspati himself also accepts his indebtedness to Trilocana. But the fact remains unaltered that among the numerous works of his predecessors in the Nyaya School those have only survived which have a touch of approval in the *Tatparyatika*. There are two Sub-commentaries on the *Nyayakanika*—the *Svadicankarani* and *Jusaddhankarami* and one on the *Tattvabindu*—the *Tattvavibhavana*.

Unfortunately for us the works of Vacaspati were comparatively neglected during some centuries when the minds of the Naiyayikas were occupied with the Neo-logic of Mithila and Bengal. But we must remember with gratitude the scholars of the last century who brought all these works to light with of course one exception the **Tattvasamiksa** remaining untraced. The late Pandit Dharmadatta (Vacca) Jha of hallowed memory began his **Tatparyatattvaloka** but was snatched away from amongst us before he could complete it. His veteran students Nyayapradhanacharya, Vidyavacaspati, Pt. Sasinatha Jha and Pt. Lakshminatha Jha are still carrying on the 'Sampradaya' of Vacaspati in Mithila. Pt. Sasinath as a Visistavidvan in the Mithila Institute is supervising its research publications in Indian Philosophy himself contributing a few important volumes. The latter is the head of the Department of Oriental Philosophy in the Hindu University, Banaras. His commentaries—the **Prakasa** and the **Vikasa** on the first four sections of the **Bhamati** have been published from Banaras.

The Anglo-Sanskrit Scholars made important contributions towards the revival of the studies of Vacaspati's

works. Here the contribution of eminent scholars like MM Dr. Ganganath Jha, MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja and some of the illustrious professors of the University of Calcutta deserve special mention. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana in his pioneer work, the History of Indian Logic, dealt with Vacaspati's contribution in Indian logic along with other problems connected with them. Dr. S.N. Das Gupta and Dr. Radhakrishnan also allotted proper places to him in their works. Vacaspati's position vis-a-vis his Buddhist predecessors has been thoroughly dealt with by Dr. Satkari Mookerjee. Many intricate problems regarding this author have been solved by the late Professor Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya.

With the establishment of the Mithila Institute the studies on Vacaspati Misra have gained a new impetus.

The institute is now a meeting ground of many scholars who are working on the problems connected with Vacaspati. As Vacaspati is an all India figure and his works are studied throughout the length and breadth of India, it is not possible to accommodate every scholar working on him in any single institution. But the

workers in the Institute are keeping close contact with all those who are interested in Vacaspati studies. The Institute proposes to take up the publication of the critical Edition of the **Nyayavartikatatparyatika** along with the **Nyayabhasya**, the **Nyayavartika** and the **Parisuddhi** with the **Alamkara** of Abhayatilaka under the comprehensive title of the **Nyayacaturganthika** so well-known to ancient masters like Vacaspati II and Sankara Misra. The publication of the works of the Late Dharmadatta Jha is also in view in which, it is hoped, his **Tatparyatattvaloka** will also be included.

The works of Vacaspati have been grouped into three divisions—The Vedanta, The Nyaya and the rest, for critical study. The Vedanta views have been critically dealt with by Dr. Hasurkar, one of the pupils of Dr. P. L. Vaidya, former Director, and his studies have been published in the Institute series. The third item has been taken up by Professor Sobhakant Jaidev Jha.

The Nyaya views of Vacaspati have attracted several others including Pt. Sasinath Jha and Dr. Satansusekhar Bagchi. A contribution of the former will be found in these pages. The latter has given a critical analysis of

Vacaspati's views on Induction in his **Inductive Reasoning**. Young scholars in the institute are also taking interest in Vacaspati. An interesting paper has been contributed by Sri Vasudeva Jha M.A. on Vacaspati's Guru Trilocana. Prof. Mahaprabhulal Goswami is carrying on his studies on the **Bhamati** and the other sub-schools of Advaita Vedanta.

The undersigned has been working on a new problem—The successors of Vacaspati Misra in the Buddhist school and their works. There was so long a dark chapter in the History of Nyaya philosophy which is otherwise complete and runs parallel with the Buddhistic school of logic. Attacks and counter attacks between Naiyayikas as well as the Buddhists brought about a healthy growth in both the school till the Buddhists were uprooted from Indian soil by the Mohamedan invasion. But so long there was a gap between Vacaspati and Udayanacharya. The Buddhist author criticising Vacaspati and himself being the target of attack of Udayana was missing. Fortunately for us this gap has now been filled up by the discovery of the works of Jnanasrimitra in Tibet by Mahapandita Rahulasankrityayana along with the works of Ratnakirti, Jnanasri's disciple, who also came between the

above-mentioned Nyaya—scholars. Their works all together twenty-two in number have been published under the auspices of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

It may be added here that the former Director of the Institute, MM Dr. Umesha Misra gave some new light on the philosophical views of this author. We hope that the forthcoming volumes of his History of Indian philosophy will give more informations about Vacaspati's personality and scholarship

We give below the names of some articles having some bearing on Vacaspati contributed by the scholars of the Institute.

1. Vacaspati Misra's Reference to King Adisura—Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika Vol-57

2. The Naiyayika Trilocana—as a Teacher of Vacaspati—Indian Culture, Vol—XIV.

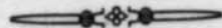
3. Jnanasrimitra and his Ksanabhan-gadhyaya. —Journal Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXVI.

4. Tatparyacarya —
Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XVII.

5. Ratnakirti and his works—
Journal, Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXVII.

6. Nyayamanjari of Guru Triloca—
Journal, Bihar Research Society XLI.

7. Jnanasrimitra and his works—
Journal, Bihar Research Society, Buddha Jayanti Special Issue.



Vacaspati Misra A Syncretist?

Miss Madeleine Biardeau 45 rue des Favourite Paris 15 France.

प्रकृत लेख में विदुषी लेखिका ने गवेषणापूर्ण उद्देश्यों तथा उनकी व्याख्याओं के द्वारा वाचस्पति मिश्र के इस दृष्टिकोण को स्पष्ट किया है कि सभी धार्मिक दर्शन स्वयं पूर्ण नहीं, प्रत्युत पूर्ण वैदिक धर्म का एक एक अंश है। ये परस्पर विरुद्ध नहीं हैं, क्योंकि पूर्ण का पूर्ण के साथ वास्तविक विरोध होता है, अंश का अंश के साथ नहीं। अतः मिश्र जी का सभी धार्मिक दर्शनों में सामंजस्य तथा वैशिष्ट्य लाने का समूहपूर्व प्रयास स्तुत्य है।

It has been wondered more than once at least among western scholars—how Vacaspati Misra could have commented upon all the darsanas so faithfully, and could have advocated one after the other all the most divergent theories occurring in Brahmanical philosophy. This however is no real problem for the Indian thinkers of today who have by now got fully accustomed to the view that the darsanas instead of being contradictory to one another, are rather supplementing one another. But this view is the result of the late centuries' developments of Indian thought and could not possibly be traced back to the origin of the system: Sankara considered the Sankhyas as his main Brahmanical opponents and would never have compromised with them, though later Vijñānabhikṣu strove to reconcile both systems. The Naiyayikas fought

against the Sankhyas as well as the Mimamsakas. The only recognized affinities, which did not exclude vast differences and discussions, were those which obtained between Mimamsa and Vedānta (Upavarsa is supposed to be the author of commentaries on both darsanas), Nyaya and Vaiśeṣika, Yoga and Sankhya.

In the time of Vacaspati, however things seem to be changing. He is probably the first one to acknowledge the view of a specialization for each system, which makes it only part of a whole and not an independent totality by itself: *atha prameyavyutpadanaya pravrittam sastram kasmāt prmanam samanyato viśeṣatasca laksayati? ityāha—“prameyasiddhiḥ pramāṇa-
ddhi”* iti. (Tattva Kaumudī, 4 N. ed. 1940 P. 106) This passage as Sarabodhinī rightly says, refers to the idea that Sankhya belongs to support.

group of the three systems which have specialized in the study of the prameyas, the objects of valid knowledge, and therefore, need not explain what a pramana is : the study of the pramanas should be found only in Nyaya. So, by commenting upon all darsanas, Vacaspati probably felt that he was giving a full picture of the Brahmanical system of thought. As a matter of fact, if we examine his commentaries we find that on many topics, he brought about more or less important developments which were actually ideas imported from one darsana into another. He did it quite openly sometimes quoting his commentary on one system when commenting upon another (e.g. Tattva Kaumudi pp. 142, 230, etc...), so that we are forced to understand that, by his time, such a syncretism had become a matter of course. We can illustrate his method by some examples chosen among many others.

In Sankhyakarika 5, inference is said to be of three kinds, which reminds us of Nyayasutra and Bhasya 1-1-5. Gaudapada however explains the three kinds of anumana in a way which differentiates the inference of Sankhya from that of Nyaya : the *purvadanumanana* corresponds to the first

definition given in Nyayabhasya and is illustrated by the same example : from the perception of big clouds, I can anticipate a rainfall. The *sesavadanumanana* on the contrary has no equivalent in Nyayabhasya : it is simply the inference which concludes from the property of the part to that of the whole, and it is illustrated by the salty taste of the sea which we infer to be the same everywhere after testing only a small part of it. This type of inference does not seem to have any special importance for Gaudapada. As to the *samanyatodrstanumanana*, the example given in both texts is that of the movement of the sun inferred from its being seen in different places at different times, on the analogy of a person who reaches different places by going from one place to another. the Sankhya text does not mention the second definition given in Nyayabhasya. But, curiously enough, when Gaudapada comments upon Ka. 6 which brings in *samanvatodrstanumanana* as the means to prove the existence of *pradhan* and *purusa*, his statement cannot be understood unless we refer it to the second definition of that type of anumana given in Nyayabhasya, as well as to the first definition of *sesavadanumanana* given by Vatsyayana : *pradhanapurusatind-*

*riyau samanyatodrstanumanenasadh-
yete yasmanmahadadi lingam trigu-
nam/yasyedam trigunam karyam tat
pradhanamiti* Actually Gaudapada himself, like the author of the Karikas, will explain this later (ka. 8) as an inference of the cause from its effect, which is none other than *sesavadanumanana* of the first type given in Nyayabhasya.

The second definition of *samanyatodrstanumanana* given in Nyayabhasya is illustrated by the inference of atman as the support of desire, etc: desire is a quality and needs a substance as its abode, this abode is atman : *icchadayogunah, gunasca dravyasamsthanah, tad yadesam sthanam sa atmeti*. Even this example is difficult to understand as it is : desire may be a quality and as such require a substantial support, but how are we to know that the support is atman rather than any other substance ? Still, atman is a well known substance for Nyaya, and what this anumana wants to prove is not the existence of atman but the supersensual relation between atman and desire as that between an abode and its quality. That is why Gaudapada strengthens his argument under ka. 7 and 9 particularly, showing that supersensual things may exist even

if they are never perceived, and that an effect is of the same nature as its cause (so that we can know the nature of the cause from that of the effect).

Vacaspati is well aware of the difficulties involved in the basic assumptions of the Sankhya system, and he tries to improve them by a clearer definition of the *pramanas* which will prove them. It seems that up to him the Sankhya authors had not taken much trouble to found their statements on sound logical proofs. But the reason for that may be that there was really no known *pramana*—apart from *sruti*—which could give the knowledge of an entity beyond perception. Vacaspati on the contrary has written first his commentary on the Nyayadarsana, where he further develops the criticism brought by Udyotakara against the Bhasya definitions of the *samanyatodrstanumanana* : the first type—for which the example given is that of the movement of the sun—can be brought under the *sesavadanumanana*, where the cause is inferred from its effect. There remains the second type which is also improved by Vacaspati : from the general properties of all qualities we infer that a desire must have a substantial support.

That much is called **samanyatodrsta-anumana**. But when we want to determine the specific cause of desire, we have to resort to **sesavadanumana** of the second type given in Nyayabhasya: by successive elimination we come to know that desire must have for its cause atman which is the ninth substance accepted by Nyaya (cf. Tatparyatika 1-5, Chowkhamba ed. p. 183-4) If now we turn to Tattvakaumudi, we find Vacaspati quoting himself several times by referring to the Tatparyatika. He consciously introduces his statements as a Naiyayika into his Sankhya commentary, and at the same time adopts them carefully to his new purpose.

Gaudapada under **sesavadanumana** has mentioned a type of inference which did not occur in Nyaya. Vacaspati does not even discuss it and brings instead the second type of **sesavad** mentioned in Nyayabhasya which he will require later: he does not give any example for it under ka. 5 but says he will give it afterwards, which he does under ka. 9 in his attempt to prove the satkaryavada. When he comes to **samanyatodrstanumana**, he simply refers the reader to his Tatparyatika, and under ka. 6 he explicitly says that by **samanyatodrstanumana**, we should

understand both **samanyatodrsta** and **sesavadanumana**; he wants us to read both in ka. 6 **samanyatodrstad atindriyanam prasiddhir anumanat tasmadapi casiddham paroksam aptagamat siddham**. Isvarakrsna seems to say that supersensual things which cannot be ascertained by **samanyatodrstanumana** are to be known by **aptavacana**, but Vacaspati asks us to understand **ca** in **tasmadapi casiddham** as referring to **sesavadanumana**. Under ka. 8 where it is said **karyatadupalabdheh**, his commentary is very brief, because for him the real demonstration may come only after the satkaryavada has been proved (ka. 9); he gives it under ka. 15-16 **mahat** and the other **tattvas** are necessarily effects and must have a cause, this cause being unmanifested. These effects are made of the three gunas, from which we infer that the cause must have the three gunas as its constituents. The demonstration of **purusa** is founded on the same principle, combining **samanyatodrsta** and **sesavadanumana**. Noticeable also is the fact that Vacaspati, under **samanyatodrstanumana**, gives an example which is not found in his Nyaya commentary: instead of the inference of atman as the substantial

support of desire, he brings the inference of **indriya**, whereas atman is perceived by internal perception; thus the inference of **pradhana** will be exactly on a par with that of the sense organs.

In this connection, Vacaspati borrows still one more argument from his Tatparyatika which could be deemed the most surprising of all: when trying to prove the pre-existence of the effect in its cause—a theory clearly opposed to the **asatkaryavada** of the Nyaya as he himself says—he refers to Tatparyatika 4-1-18 where he has proved that something cannot be produced out of mere non-existence. The purpose of his statement in his Nyaya work is obviously different from that of Tattvakaumudi, but he does not hesitate to bring it in as one more common point between Sankhya and Nyaya.

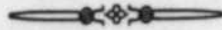
If we were to analyse some more examples in detail we should have to exceed the limits of an article, but we would like to mention only two more cases where Vacaspati has clearly identified ideas of different systems which were at first altogether different. In Yogabhasya 4-3, it is said that **dharma** and **adharma** are not the efficient causes of what

happens in the world. Their function is only to set up or remove obstacles and things happen by themselves, the reason given for this being that **dharma** is a result of the actions done in this world and cannot be at the same time their cause. Isvara has no place whatsoever in this picture: the world is going on by itself, **dharma** and **adharma** are part of its working. But the example given to illustrate that idea incidentally brings in an agent: a peasant who wants to flood one field which is on the same level or lower than an already flooded field will not carry the water from one field to the other, but will simply remove the separation between both fields. That is enough for Vacaspati to take the hint and bring Isvara as the ruler who directs the **dharma** according to the wishes of men. Isvara is thus made an efficient cause of the world just as he is in Nyaya, but that is an altogether new idea in Yoga: in Yogabhasya 1-25 it is only said that Isvara's omniscience helps the other beings to get all the knowledge they need after each **pralaya**. Vacaspati has obviously identified the Isvara of the Yoga with that of the Nyaya.

He must also be held responsible for the introduction of the sphota theory in Yoga: it is quite clear that

the idea of sphota is absent from Yogabhasya 3-17, that there is no other word material than letters themselves, and that all the efforts of the author are intended to show how the successive letters cooperate to give the knowledge of a word sense. There is not the slightest hint at the sphota theory, but the letters are supposed to form words thanks to their conventional meaning. However it is said that, when a word has been delimited by its meaning it appears as unit by itself for the mind which grasps the meaning. This is enough for Vacaspati to comment upon that passage as if *pada* meant *padasphota* and

vakya, *vakyasphota*. This sounds strange to us since everywhere else, as a Vedantin or a Mimamsaka or as well as a Naiyayika, he refuted the sphota theory. This might mean that the changes Vacaspati introduces in his various commentaries are not guided by his personal bias, but rather by what must have appeared to him as an obvious identity between different ideas. The confusion was probably never sought for but arose in course of time from more verbal similarities. It would be interesting to know how this has been compatible with the unbroken tradition boasted by all the darsanas.



Vacaspati's Critique of the Bhedabheda Doctrine of Bhaskara

Dr. J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Reader in Indian Philosophy, University of Utrecht, Utrecht, Holland.

इस लेख में विद्वान लेखक ने यह दिखलाया है कि वाचस्पति मिश्र ने भामती में जो भेदाभेद सिद्धान्त का खण्डन किया है, उसमें अधिकांश भास्कर के मत को ही पूर्व पक्ष में लिया है, क्योंकि भास्कर की पंक्तियों से बहुत स्थानों के पूर्व पक्ष में समानता स्पष्ट है तथा भास्कर के ग्रन्थ का लेखक जो आलोचनात्मक संस्करण प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं उसका भी कुछ दिग्दर्शन कराया है।

One of the first, if not actually the first, testimonies to the existence of the Sarirakamimamsabhasya of Bhaskara is, apparently, given by Vacaspatimisra in his Bhamati. When commenting on Sankara's bhasya and Brahmasutra 1. 1. 4, *ta tu samanvayata* Vacaspati enters into a discussion of the doctrine of *bhedabheda* in the precise terms in which it is expounded by Bhaskara in his commentary on the same sutra.

The manner in which Bhaskara introduces the topic of the coexistence of difference and non-difference is curious. It is not, as one would expect, in reply to a fundamental logical position that the two are

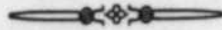
mutually exclusive. No, it is a reaction to a statement made very much in passing (it seems) by a mimamsaka whom he introduces as a *purvapaksin*. This mimamsaka remarks: *bhedabheda visayayoh karmajnanakandayoh parasparavirodhad anyataramugunyenanyat arad vyakheyeyam*: "inasmuch as the karmakanda and the jnanakanda are mutually exclusive, the one dealing with plurality, the other with non-difference, the one must be so interpreted as to be in agreement with the other;" whereupon he proposes a particular kind of subordination of the karmakanda to the jnanakanda.

It is clear that Bhaskara has introduced this point in order to enable

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himself to deal with this fundamental topic at an early point in his commentary. And he starts his exposition in reply to the mimamsaka's remark, but very soon includes the advaitin's views in his refutation. *Yad apy uktam*, he says, *bhedabhedavirodha iti tad abhidhiyate—anirupita pramana prameyatattvasyedam codyam*. Thereupon he enters into the discussion which is fundamental to his philosophical position and is attacked by Vacaspatimisra.

His refutation touches upon the following points. In the first place, he argues, the simultaneous existence of difference and non-difference is proved by pramana. Counterarguments based the two types of mutual exclusion do not apply when we have to do with a cause and its product. When there is a cause-product relationship, as between Brahman and the phenomenal world, there is non-difference (for a product does not exclude its cause and is non-different from it) as well as difference.

Let us take up these points. It cannot be demonstrated, according to Bhaskara, that one entity is either wholly different from another or wholly non-different. Entities which differ from one another in certain

particular properties do not differ in certain general properties, as, for example being, knowability, substantiality: every substance possesses these properties. Therefore while a certain substance may be looked upon as different from the point of view of its particularity, it may simultaneously looked upon as non-different from the point of view of its universality: *sattajneyatvadravayatva-disamanyatmana sarvam abhinna-vyaktyatmana ca parasparavailaks-anyad bhinnam*.

Further, there are two types of mutual exclusion (*virodha*), that illustrated by light and shade, non-coexistence (*sahanavasthana*), and that illustrated by heat and cold, occurrence in different loci (*bhinnade-savartitvam*). Neither of these obtains between a cause and its product, for we find that the product is always sewed up (*sarvadanusyutam*) with its cause. This view he summarizes in the samgrahasloka:

*karyarupena nanatvam abhedah karanatmana,
hmatatmana yathabhedah kundaladyatmana bhida.*

"There is difference in so far as an entity is product, non-difference in so far as it is cause, just as a thing is non-different in being gold and

different in being a golden earring etc."

Bhaskara applies here with rigorous consistency the *satkayavada*. It is true that a cause can produce a product and that this product before its factual production preexists as cause, the product shares in the properties of the cause, The golden product is gold. Gold, one may say, has two modes of being, as the unparticularized gold and as the particularized golden earring. Likewise, Brahman has the mode of being the product, the phenomenal world.

Vacaspati expounds this view as follows: 'A thing is non-different as cause and different as product...It is not correct to say that since non-difference and difference exclude each other both cannot inhere in one thing. We have the cognition that a certain thing is excluded when it runs counter to pramana; whereas a thing is such a thing as the which it is known by pramana. In the proposition: "This earring is gold," we cognize the coordination of gold and earring, and in this cognition both difference and non-difference appear clearly. When there is a relation of supporter and

thing-supported, or when two things have one locus, there is no coordination: for the jujube tree is not the hole; (that is the hole in which the tree is planted) nor, when Caitra and Maitra are sitting on one seat, is Caitra Maitra. This unsublated, unquestioned, universally accepted coordination is precisely what establishes the difference of cause and product. Thus, since products subsist in their cause and the cause everywhere conforms to the form of the products, the product—world—is nondifferent as sat, and different as that product—cow, pot, etc. As they say," and here Vacaspati quotes directly from Bhaskara his samgrahasloka.

In his refutation, Vacaspati seeks to equate the *bhedha* that can coexist with *abhedha*, according to Bhaskara, with *parasparabhava*, reciprocal non-existence, or the non-existence of either entity (cause or product) in the other. Does this *parasparabhava* exist between cause and product, he asks. If it does not, they are the same thing; if it does exist, they are two different things. And, he adds, of existence and non-existence it cannot be maintained that they are mutually exclusive, because both cannot inhere

1. Bhamati ad 1. 1. 4. *Anantakrsna's* edition of the Brahmasutra sankarabhasya with Bhamati, Kalpataru and Parimala (Bombay 1938) p. 117 ff.

in the same thing : if they could, a bracelet and a **vardhamana** plant would, in consequence, be the same thing, since difference and non-difference are not exclusive.

It seems to me that Bhaskara would not have accepted the relevance of this line of argument, since in effect it restates an objection which he had already recognized and rejected. Though made somewhat more complicated by the introduction of the existence and non-existence of reciprocal non-existence as equivalents for **bheda** and **abheda**, it amounts to saying that **bheda** and **abheda** can never coexist ; which Bhaskara had specifically denied for cause and product, just because the difference between cause and product cannot be stated so absolutely as **paraspara-bhava**, Bhaskara would have taken exception to Vacaspati's assumption.

The advaitin drops this line and takes up another. If a bracelet is not different from gold, golden things like bracelets, diadems, ear-rings etc. are non-different in that they are gold : and accordingly they are also non-different in that they are all bracelet, since the bracelet is gold. This shows that only gold is a really existing thing, (*vastusan*) for in gold no difference are manifest. Of course,

Bhaskara would rejoin, these things are non-different only in that they are gold, not in that they are bracelet and by that token an ear-ring is a thing very different from a bracelet. But, asks Vacaspati, if a bracelet is not different from gold, does it persist in the earring, as the gold persists ? If not, how can you say that the bracelet is not different from gold ? Things that separate while another persists are different from that other thing, like flowers which are different from the string on which they are strung. If ear ring etc do not persist in gold products while gold does, they must be different from gold.

If one accepts conformity of products on the strength of the persistence in them of their common cause, we have no way of distinguishing products as to their identity, place, time and mode. Moreover, if one identified something as gold from a distance, there would be no desire to identify that thing as an ear-ring etc., because they would be non-different from gold, and the gold had already been identified while, if they were different from gold, they would not be known even though the gold were known. But is this not an expected objection from a Vedantin ? Is sruti in error when it states the **pratijna**

and **drstanta** : "Have you asked for that doctrine according to which all is known when one is known ? Just as all that is made of clay is known when clay is known. "Hence Vacaspati introduces the objection : "But since there is non-difference too, as we said, why wouldn't they be known ?" On the contrary it follows that they are known. It is the general rule that there is no product when there is no cause : that is to say that the cause of knowledge concerning them is their non-difference from gold ; but as there is also difference, there is no cause of knowledge. This absence of produced knowledge is removed only by the **sale existence** (*karana-sattaya*) of the cause. When there is non-difference the cause exists solely, and then alone the ear-ring etc. are in fact known when the cause is known. But then there is no point in wishing to know them or knowing them. Consequently, if something is not known when something else is known, this means that the two are different thing. When gold is perceived from a distance, its variations as ear-ring etc. are not perceived ; therefore they are different from gold.

Vacaspati has here moved to another aspect of the question : general characteristics are insufficient to know

a thing that also has particular characteristics. One may identify it generally as gold from a distance, but the fact that you want to go nearer and identify it really means that it is not gold, just as a vague shape in the distance is not just a vague shape but either a donkey or a young elephant (*karabha*), which may also mean camel. But, one may object, in that case, how can there be a syntactical coordination : "This ear-ring is gold ? After all there must be non-difference to make it possible, but not only non-difference, for then it would be tautological. Somewhat cryptically Vacaspati rejoins that it has been stated that there is no coordination when two things are in a relation of supporter to thing supported, or have the same locus. Or, another objection, how can we have a distinction of persistence and separation, and the desire to know ear-ring etc., also when the gold is known ? The reply is that whether the non-difference be absolute or not, both the distinction and the desire to know are not possible. One of the two, either difference or non-difference will have to be dropped ; now difference can be assumed only upon the prior acceptance of non-difference, not the other way. Since difference depends

on things that differ ; since differing things are each one thing, since in oneness difference has no locus and therefore no basis; since the one thing is not dependent on difference ; and since the perception of difference—"not this but this"—depends on the perception of a correlate from which it differs, while the perception of oneness does not, therefore the assumption of undefinable¹ difference presupposes the acceptance of non-difference and thus the sruti: "The clay alone is real."

In the final analysis, therefore, Vacaspati does not accept the **samanadhikaranya** "this ear-ring is gold," or, in more general terms, "the product is the cause", as a meaningful statement, unless one seeks to express in such a statement the complete non-difference of product from cause, and that the product has no existence, **really**, as a different thing. Bhaskara's fundamental realism would resist this conclusion: for him the product is the cause hemmed in by obtrusive features which themselves are real enough to establish the reality of the product as product. To Bhaskara's

central doctrine of **upadhi**—because of which Ramanuja, for instance describes his philosophy as **aupadhikavada**—Vacaspati does not, however, refer.

There are other incongruities between Bhaskara's views and the statement and refutation of them by Vacaspati. One is the introduction of **adharadheyabhava** in connection with **samanadhikaranya**. In stating the **bhedabhedavadins** position Vacaspati adds **adharadheyabhava na samanadhikaranam / na hi bhavati kundam badaram.** / This is put in his adversary's mouth. Again in his refutation he introduces the objection: **katham tarhi hema kundalam iti samanadhikaranam ?** To which he replied: **na hy adharadheyabhava .. samanadhikaranam ity uktam.** But, as far as I can see, Bhaskara holds that the relation between cause and product can be seen as an **adharadheyabhava**; and the **purvapaksin's** position that the **samanadhikaranya** of the type **kundalam idam suvarnam** does not apply in an **adharadheyabhava** can not be deduced from Bhaskara's text. When Bhaskara discusses the **virodha** which it

has been objected, exists between **bheda** and **abheda** he points out that there are two types, **sahanavastha bhinnadesavartitvam**. This latter type is not applicable to the relation between cause and product, he argues. He says: **sitosnayo punar bhinnadharavartinor na kadacid utpadyot-hadakalaksanah sambandho nadharadheyalakšana iti yuktas tayoh parasparavirodhah**; this must mean that in his view the relation between cause and product is in fact **utpadyot-padakalaksana** and **adharadheyalakšana**. Accordingly he would hold that a **samanadhikaranam** like **kundalam idam suvarnam** can be had in a case of **adharadheyabhava**.

I think we must assume that Vacaspati had not only Bhaskara in mind in his refutation, but also other followers in the complete absence of any other text from Bhaskara's school², not even a commentary, we have no way of finding out how the central position had been developed. That hot discussion had been going on is clear from Bhaskara's text itself. Striking is the polemical tone with which Bhaskara speaks to his adversaries: **nanu siuosnayor yatha parasparam virodhas tatha bhedabhedah**

yoh kim idam ucyate—nasti virodha iti atrocyate—bhavatah prajnaparadho yamāna vastuvirodhah Or: **karanena hi mrtsuvarbadina karyam sarvadanusyutam drsyate/tatraksini nimilya parasparasamgatilaksano virodho vaitayad vaktavyo bhavet prathamikasrotriyesrotraprataranrr-tham va**, where his indignation inspires him to an interesting idiom. Again: **atra pragalbhyat kascid aha**. It is obvious not only that Bhaskara knew what arguments could be raised, but also that they were actually being raised. The fact that his defense of **bhedabhedha** immediately becomes an attack on **advaita** (**vedante nipunammanyah kascid aha**) shows clearly that those arguments came from **advaitins**.

Even though Vacaspati apparently also addressed himself to other **bhedabhedavadins**, who, for instance, developed arguments from the fact of **samanadhikaranya** (compare also the importance which Ramanuja gives to syntactical coordination) (**Vedarthasamgraha**, 6-7; 26; 67-68) and refined its applicability, still in the main Vacaspati bases himself on Bhaskara. The view that **pramana** is our only criterion for **virodha** is found in the **karikas**:

1. usually **Yadavaprakasa** is mentioned, who had his own form of **bhedabhedha**, of. Ramanuja, o. c. ‡ 58, P. 225; no work of his is extant.

1. *anirvacaniyabhedha*; of. Bhamati I. 4. 26 (p. 429): *na ca mrdah saravadayo bhidyante, na cabhinnah, na va bhinnabhinnah, kim tu anirvaciniya eva.*

2. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Ramanuja's Vedarthasamgraha*; introduction, critical edition and annotated translation (Poona 1956), ‡ 54 ff. (221 ff.)

ekasyaikatvam astiti pramanad avagamyate, nānatvam tasya tatpūrvam kasmad bhedo'pi nesyate. yat pramanāḥ paricchinnam aviruddham hi tat tatha, vatsujatam garasvadi bhinnabhinnaṁ pratiyate.

Compare Vacaspati's lines : **viruddham iti nah** (sc. the bhedabhedavadins) **kva sampratyaayo yat pramanaviparyayena vartate / yat tu yatha pramanenavagamyate tasya tathabhava eva**. And the concluding argument of the advaitin seems to be specifically directed against the first *karika*. Likewise, Vacaspati's discussion of the relation between gold (*heman*) and ear-ring (*kundala*) is based on Bhaskara's *saṁgrahasloka*,

Vacaspati has contented himself with the refutation of bhedabheda he gave *ad* 1. 1., 4. He refers back to it without further comment *ad* 1. 4. 22 where the view of the old master Kasakrtsnt is given, to which Bhaskara adheres : **na tavad**, the advaitin remarks, **bhedabhedav ekaṭra bhavikau bhavitum arhata iti viprapancitam prathame pade**, i e. *ad* 1. 1. 4. But in the sequel of the same commentary *ad* 1. 4. 22 he touches briefly on another view of Bhaskara.

The bhedabhedavadin there expounds his view that the individual soul (*liṅga*) is a particle (*amsa*) of the supreme soul, and he gives several

instances of *amsas*. Vacaspati (*Bhāmāti* p. 420) addresses himself to some of these instances, and so does Ramanuja (*Vedarthasaṁgraha*, 56-57'. Now the intriguing thing is that both the advaitin and the visistadvaitin specifically attack the view that the space contained in the aural cavity, in which also resides the auditory faculty, would be an *amsa* of *akasa*. This view is, at first sight, not found in Bhaskara at all ; but on closer looks it turns out that the text of Bhaskara is corrupt here and that the indirect testimony of Vacaspati, supported by the testimony of Ramanuja, can help us in restoring Bhaskara's text.

After the first instance of an *amsa* (*Tyāhagner viśphulingah*), Bhaskara apparently adduced three more illustrations : 1. space contained in an earthen pot etc. is an *amsa* of *akasa* ; 2. the space, contained in the aural cavity, is an *amsa* of *akasa* and has the faculty of perceiving sound ; 3. the fivefold *prāṇa* in every body is an *amsa* of wind. Vacaspati discusses examples 2 and 3 (in this order), Ramanuja examples 1 and 2 (in this order). Now it is clear that in Bhaskara's text examples 1 and 2 have become mixed up, most probably due to haplography.

One group of manuscripts¹ reads here : **yathakasasya parthivadyadhishthanopadhyavachinnah chidrapradesah tadamsasabdagrahanasaktyapeksa²**, which gives no sense. One manuscript which usually provides better readings, has : **chidrapradesah tadamsas tatsabdagrahanasaktyayetaḥ**. Vacaspati's text must somehow be inspired by this ; he states the example as follows : **nabhasa iva karnanemimandalavacchinnam nabhaḥ sabdagrahanayogyam** (*Bhāmāti* p. 42.).

In the first place we remark that the text of Bhaskara shows an *hiatus*. This is proved by the element *tad*—in *tadamsas*. This *tad* must represent *akasasya*, for we have an example here of an *amsa* of *akasa* ; now a construction **yathakasasya ... chidrapradesah tadamsas** is impossible, since *tad* can only repeat *akasa* here : just as A is an *amsa* of *akasa*, and B is an *amsa* of it (*tadamsah*). Since Bhaskara's text has a compound ending in *avacchinnah* and Vacaspati's paraphrased quotation has likewise, it is very likely that the *hiatus* has occurred through a haplography caused by a repeated *avacchinnah* ; in philosophical texts, with their frequent repetition of words, haplography is my experience, one of the greatest

single factors of *hiatus* and consequent proliferating corruption. I should therefore conjecturally amend Bhaskara's text as follows : **yatha vakasasya parthivadyadhishthanopadhyavacchinno kaso msah karnavacchinnas ca chidrapradesah tadamsah tadamsah sabdagrahanasaktyupetaḥ** "just as the space delimited by the adjunct of the locus of an earthen pot etc. is an *amsa* of *akasa*, and the extent of the orifice delimited by the ear is an *amsa* of it, possessed of the capacity of perceiving sound." Haplographically the scribe of the manuscript which was the original of the manuscripts of both groups continued after the first *avacchinnah* with the words after the second *avacchinnah*, and from there on the text was incomprehensible. If my argument is accepted, we are able to restore Bhaskara's corrupted text and account for the refutation which no less than two eminent Vedantins have devoted to a view which was ascribed to Bhaskara. It is one of the ironies of the textual criticism of Bhaskara's much abused Vedānta commentary that his adversaries are helpful in restoring to us the view which they really are intended to demolish. Similarly Sankara's *bhāṣya*, constantly attacked by Bhaskara, can aid in restoring the latter's text.

1. A palmleaf grantha MS. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, described in Triennial Catalogue, R 6123.

2. The reading of the Madras manuscript.

3. Madras MS. *saktyayetaḥ saktyupetaḥ* ?